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Tammany Extravagance

The test of a state government is not only what it spends but how it spends. By juggling figures ex-Governor Smith is attempting to show that the economy claims of the Miller administration are groundless. Not only does he fail in this effort, but he craftily ignores the fact that during the Miller administration at Albany the people of the state got value received for their money, while during the Smith administration they did not.

Governor Smith began his administration in true Tammany style. In the second year of his term appropriations increased \$49,000,000 and reached the high-water mark of \$145,000,000, the highest sum ever appropriated in the history of the state.

Of this sum, \$54,000,000 was taken out of the pockets of the people in new taxes, among these being the personal income tax, which was imposed during the Smith administration.

In the first year of the Miller administration \$23,500,000 less was taken from the people's pockets than had been taken the year before. And while making this reduction in state expenses the Miller administration made \$22,000,000 more appropriation for teachers' salaries than did Governor Smith, increased the Smith appropriation for the New York vehicular tunnel by \$8,500,000, bettered Smith's appropriation for canal purposes by more than \$6,000,000 and spent more money than did Smith upon many other necessary state improvements, including highways, water power conservation and improvements in New York Harbor.

In short, Governor Miller spent money for the benefit of the people of the state—spent far more money than did Governor Smith for the same purpose—and at the same time kept the expenses of the state lower than Smith kept them by more than \$23,000,000!

Mr. Smith accompanies his charges by not accounting for his own stewardship. Where the money appropriated by his administration went he explains only by generalities. It is known, however, that the pay rolls grew enormously while he was in office, that any department that asked an increased appropriation could get it, and that Mr. Smith himself publicly declared, as he has lately asserted in his speeches, that the only way the state could be put on a business basis was through constitutional amendment.

No constitutional amendment was enacted. Yet, as the result of two years of Governor Miller's administration:

Appropriations were reduced from \$145,219,906.60 in Smith's last term to \$135,752,278.65 in 1921 and to \$139,147,807.34 in the following year—a saving in the two years of \$21,539,727.10.

A reduction in direct state taxes totaling \$27,798,389.25 was made in these two years.

A reduction for personal service amounting to \$3,735,570.99 was made in the same period.

And this with a steady and notable improvement of every department of the public service, and extremely large sums spent on important and necessary public work.

Two more years of Miller will put the state's machinery on a sound, efficient and economical business basis. Two more years of Smith would restore the old Tammany system of extravagance and inefficiency, which Tammany has maintained whenever and wherever it has controlled public office.

The Raid on the Bench

The indorsement of Surrogate Cohalan and Justice Lehman by the Bar Association was to have been expected. The Bar Association had already recommended their nominations, which recommendation was ignored by the party leaders in the case of Mr. Cohalan.

Our neighbor "The World," somewhat belatedly, has come out in support of the Surrogate re-election. This makes opinion unanimous for him so far as intelligent citizens and newspapers are concerned.

There is, however, much to be done for the bosses can be convinced that they will not be permitted to run the bench of New York County as if it were their personal property. Lawyers and newspapers and

business men owe it to themselves and to the county to make it clear to every voter just what the turning down of Mr. Cohalan means and just how much of a menace is this attempted control of the judiciary by party leaders.

The Republican and Tammany organizations still control many votes. The party man untrammelled as to what has been going on is likely to vote a straight ticket if he is not informed as to the issue.

Organization and hard work by the Cohalan supporters can uphold on Election Day the principle of an unbossed bench. It is the duty of every honest citizen to lend a hand.

A Lighthouse for Columbus

Whatever the precise spot of land in the Western Hemisphere that Columbus sighted 430 years ago today, and wherever his remains may actually be buried, there is merit in the proposal to erect a gigantic lighthouse as a memorial to him upon the island of Santo Domingo. Men have given their lives to the study of his career and many volumes have been written to "prove" disputed points. It is probable that the full truth will never be known.

That there is no suitable memorial to him, however, cannot be gainsaid. There remains the question of where it should be situated. If the precise spot where he first landed were known beyond dispute, a good argument for choosing it as a site could be made. So, also, if it were unquestioned that his remains still lie in the cathedral at Santo Domingo, that spot might be chosen for his memorial. But neither point is clear. Why not, therefore, be guided by two facts which are no longer disputed—namely, that on this island he planted the first European town in America and that to this town his body was brought early in the sixteenth century, fulfilling his request, to repose in the cathedral of Santo Domingo?

These are good claims for erecting a monument to him there. What more fitting than that this monument should be a giant lighthouse, visible far out upon the Caribbean Sea, the path to which he first pointed out?

Abandoning the Pistol

The leaders of the Big Four railroad brotherhoods are unquestionably the ablest labor leaders in America, just as the members of those unions rank among the most intelligent workers of the country. It was all the more deplorable that these men should cease to be a source of fair play and good sense and should take the radical and threatening stand that they have taken from the hour of the Adamson act down to the recent shopmen's strike.

It is all the more gratifying that these leaders now frankly recognize that they have been traveling a mistaken road and publicly renounce all resort to the tactics of a general strike in the future. As Mr. Lee well said, the situation was loaded with dynamite, "for the country as well as for ourselves and the executives." And he added these memorable words, addressed far more to the radical advisers of labor, I. W. W. and intellectuals alike, than to the steady rank and file of the unions: "No sane government would permit any faction or class to paralyze the transportation business of the country and thereby punish the innocent, who are always in the majority."

No one has better stated the case against the general strike or more clearly expressed the reasons why it cannot be tolerated. The whole country should be grateful to Mr. Lee for his frank and forceful words. He speaks as a loyal American citizen and every American can feel proud that this important branch of American labor has thus apparently turned its back upon Bolshevism and all its works. Labor can always gain far more by appealing to the logic and sympathies of the American people, and what it gains comes to it ungrudgingly.

But The Tribune cannot see that this decision of the Big Four in the least obviates the need of legislation against the strike in essential industries. The pistol that was held at the head of the government in war time and forced the Adamson act from a frightened Administration has been lowered and unloaded. So far as its use by the brotherhoods under their present leadership is concerned, the danger can be dismissed from consideration. We are glad to accept the statement of Mr. Lee as made in entire good faith and as representing a sincere and considered decision.

Such a pistol exists none the less in the hand of labor in every essential industry. There are other industries not less vital than the railroads to the life and safety of the public—the coal industry, for example. Attention has been centered upon the general strike, but the same danger lurks in any industry that furnishes the necessities of life. That coal shall be mined whatever the private disputes between operators and miners is of quite as much importance to the railroad men of the country and their families as to any other citizens.

There is the essential point. Facing this demand for the necessities of life there are neither union men nor non-union men nor capitalists.

There are only Americans, and unless the American government can secure those necessities for the people of America it has fallen a long way from its former greatness. Mr. Lee has enunciated a broad principle which must be enacted into the law of the land. It is to the interest of the members of the brotherhoods, quite as much as to the interest of every one else, that it shall be so enacted.

Crown Prince Tells the World

The warm heart of Mr. H. L. Mencken is evidently overflowing with good will in the sympathetic atmosphere of Germany. He has even hunted up the young man who was formerly the Crown Prince of Germany and tenderly cabled home to Baltimore a whole column of interview with him.

This may seem like oversteering the importance of the Hero of Verdun. What the Crown Prince ever thought about anything was never wildly sought by the great minds of the world. Now that he has retired to a Dutch island as a private citizen it is easy to imagine many things as to which his utterances would be completely immaterial and irrelevant.

But one point that Mr. Mencken reverently took down upon his trusty pad was, we submit, well worth all the bother and expense. That was when the Crown Prince waxed loud in praise of the recent speech of Mr. Reginald McKenna in New York that Americans have been attentively reading. "He knows the situation thoroughly and he told the simple truth," declared the heir apparent with candor and conviction.

It is a touching scene to witness the Crown Prince, rough and ready war horse that he is, bearing the scars of a thousand engagements, thus held champing at the bit in safe seclusion on alien territory and compelled to leave the pleading of his country's cause in other hands. But it is a relief to know, through Mr. Mencken's enterprise and loyalty, that he is satisfied with what others are doing.

When the Tide Turns

Ships under construction throughout the world on October 1 were 900,000 tons less than in 1914. Prosperity during the war has given way to the worst depression in a generation. Vessels now being built are not sufficient to provide for the natural wastage due to age and losses at sea.

This deficiency in building is sure to result in time in a revival, when the demand for ocean transportation exceeds the supply of available tonnage. At the moment there is a surplus of shipping amounting to 12,000,000 tons in a total of 56,000,000, but nearly one-fourth of this great fleet consists of ships more than twenty years old—the normal age limit.

The decline in shipbuilding is due to the fact that comparatively new steamers can be purchased at one-half the price for which similar vessels can be constructed. When shipping companies begin to replenish their fleets they will order more motor ships and faster passenger liners.

In 1919 the shipyards of this country were building 60 per cent of the world's total. To-day they are constructing only 6 per cent. The future of the American merchant marine depends largely upon what measures are taken to improve this situation before the revival of building arrives. There are the La Follette act and the Volstead act to be amended. There is the subsidy bill to be considered and enacted in such form as to foster both the operation and the building of American vessels. There must be a new era of legislation designed to uphold our ocean carriers, or American shipping will be left stranded when the tide turns.

Japan's Promise Made Good

The return of Kiaochow in Shantung to China by the Japanese on December 2 ends an international episode. The port was originally stolen from China in 1898 by the German Emperor that he might have a fortress in the East, and from him was seized by the Japanese in 1915, with utter disregard for the rights of China. The entire Shantung episode brought upon Japan bitter criticism and was one of the causes of unrest in the Far East that made the Washington conference necessary.

Last spring, after long and difficult negotiations, the Japanese and Chinese delegates in Washington finally made a settlement whereby Japan agreed to relinquish all the German leases and rights in Shantung except for temporary representation in the management of the Shantung Railroad. This meant that Japan must withdraw her troops, but as this, of course, required time, the friends of China cried that Japan was merely stalling and that she never intended to evacuate Kiaochow or any part of the Shantung Peninsula.

But Japan went ahead and first withdrew her troops from the interior, and finally completed preparations to evacuate Kiaochow, on the seacoast. When the last Japanese soldier leaves that port on December 2 she will have made good her promises, and China may rejoice

that a belated justice will have returned to her the territory of which she was unjustly despoiled.

True to Type

Mayor Hylan, the Citizens Union has discovered, has increased the budget by \$30,000,000. Part of this has gone into busses, part into maintenance of a municipal experiment with a trolley line on Staten Island and part of it into legal expenses for the Mayor's personally conducted fight against the Transit Commission.

Mr. Hylan received his nomination and his renomination from Mr. Murphy. Mr. Murphy dearly loves a liberal spender. Reports that the Mayor and Murphy had quarreled, or were about to quarrel, have cropped out now and then, but they have always proved without foundation. No Mayor whose appointees are all Tammany men and who can increase a budget by \$30,000,000 a year is likely to arouse the wrath of the Tammany chieftain.

Small wonder that the boss, taking his seat at the Hylan dinner the other night, confided to Tom Smith and Phil Donohue that Hylan was a great man and the best Mayor New York ever had.

Drying Up the Ocean

There can be no criticism of the Harding Administration for attempting to enforce the Volstead act at sea. It is constitutionally obligated to enforce the laws of the land, and its legal advisers, with much apparent reason, interpret this particular law in this extraordinary fashion.

But Congress is not required to sit by and permit this attempt to carry the Volstead act overseas. It expressly exempted foreign ships using the Panama Canal. There are equally good reasons for exempting all ships, foreign and domestic, beyond the three-mile limit. The complications with other nations promise to be harassing and irritating. The damage to American shipping, that the nation wants to extend, may well be fatal.

Why does not Congress when it assembles frankly end an impossible and dangerous situation by a brief amendment to the Volstead act which will leave it unimpaired so far as real American soil is concerned but which will end its attempt to dry up the ocean?

More Truth Than Poetry

By James J. Montague

(I won success by working eighteen hours every day of my working life—A Leader of Industry.)

If you're weary of being an ink-altering clerk

For a bit more than nothing a day

And yearn for a fortune, you only need work

For a scant eighteen hours a day.

Get down to the job at a quarter past six;

Take your lunch in the pie grabbers' line,

And stick at your desk, putting in good hard licks,

Till the clock reads ten minutes to nine.

Then jump for the trolley and hustle for home;

Snap a few hours good restful sleep—

And start back to the shop in the dun colored gloom

That heralds the morning's first peep.

Don't think of your family; you're out after fame!

Don't think about pleasure or friends;

Get into the hurrying, worrying game

And toil for ambition's high ends.

In the days when a certain great man was a boy

A youngster was up with the dew

And worked round the clock with soul thrilling joy

Till the hour of ten twenty-two.

He recked not of baseball, of golf or of shows,

He cared not for aught beside

He blighted his meals and he scamped his repose,

But he made a rich man of himself.

He wasted no time in ideals and things;

No high school or college he knew

He never thought thinking would lend his soul wings,

Or figured what knowledge might do.

A day-book and ledger was all that he had

In the culture or literature line;

They answered the turn for his hard-fisted dad,

Who thrived upon both of 'em, fine!

This person has nothing but money of course—

He hasn't a thought in his head, And neither will you if you work like a horse

From the day of your birth till you're dead.

Make Your Own Deduction

In France a colored man won the literature prize and another colored man knocked out Carpenter. Which one do you suppose was carried out of the hall on the shoulders of the spectators?

Merely a Preliminary

Albert Jeremiah Beveridge has been chopping logs in Colorado preliminary to his campaign for Senator. He'll begin rolling 'em if he's elected.

Easily Dispensed With

In Europe he may well be regarded as the spareable Turk. (Copyright by James J. Montague)

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